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High-Church Politicks:

OR THE

Abuse of the 30th of *January*

CONSIDER'D.

With Remarks on Mr. *Luke Milbourne's* Railing Sermons,
and on the *Observation* of
that Day.

*Si Natura negat facit Indignatio versum
Qualemcunque potest—* Juv. Sat.

L O N D O N:

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High-Church Politicks:

OR THE

Abuse of the Thirtieth of January.

I Think it is impossible for any considerate Man who is not govern'd by the narrow Principles of Biggotry and Faction, to read over the Harangues of divers of the Clergy on the 30th of *January*, without Resentment. To call *them* Sermons, would be an Affront to Religion; unless there was any convincing Evidence, that Christ had given a Commission to his Ecclesiastical Officers to project Schemes of Policy, to determine the Interests of Princes, and Rights of Government. This is perfectly foreign to the Design of the *Bible*, which is to recommend Vertue and Morality to the World, not Politicks. However, were it otherwise, yet certainly they can have no Right from hence to entertain their Audience with abusive Misrepresentations of those, who think it more consistent with the common Interest of Mankind, to divert from their Road of thinking. It is plain enough, should we hoodwinkt submit to their Interpretations of Scripture without Examination, they would lead us into the Belief of a thousand Absurdities; of which the Church of *Rome* has given us a fatal Precedent.

As these Gentlemen manage it, thro' a Transport of Passion, they run themselves into strange Contradictions.

ditions. On the 30th of *January* they damn the Principles of *Dissenters*, for cutting off the King's Head: And yet on the 29th of *May*, they bless God for the Principles which restored the *Royal Family*. If the Instruments which brought about this happy Restoration have any Right to their Acknowledgements, then the *Presbyterians* who had the principal Hand in it, as the Histories of

* *Hist. of Eng.* those Times own, * may come in for
Vol III. p. 238, a Share of their Blessings. So here
239. is Cursing and Blessing in a Breath.

Again, suppose the Clergy shou'd make a thankful Recognition on the 5th of *November*, for the glorious Revolution which brought about our Deliverance from *Popery*, and the arbitrary Power of King *James*; this consecrates the Notion of Resistance: and yet on the 30th of *January*, they thunder out their *Anathema's* against it; as if the same thing had two different Faces. All the Distinction which can be imagin'd, is, that the one is *Church* Resistance, and the other is *Presbyterian*: Indeed it will be said, the latter (tho' falsely) cut off his Head; and the other only drove him out of *England*, and beat him out of *Ireland* into *France*, where he broke his Heart and died. The Causes of these several Proceedings were much the same; King *Charles* would have set up a *Protestant* Tyranny, and King *James* a *Popish* one: Both were Subverters of the Laws and Constitution; and tho' they made two different *Exits*; yet the Crime in opposing one is tantamount to the other. I shall leave these Gentlemen to reconcile their Inconsistencies.

It's very observable Mr. *Lake Milbourne* is very forward to distinguish himself in this Service; but he does it with so ill a Grace, that any one wou'd think he had fall'n into one of his old Fits, and was now trying his Skill how well he could Lampoon *Dissenters*, and the Principles of the Revolution. This was an old Talent he much addicted himself to at *Yarmouth*: There's Matter enough for Reflection,

on, if one was in a Disposition for it. His Character is a common Story: I shall only say, if he had not been the Son of a Nonconforming-Minister, the *Dissenters* might have expected a less insolent Treatment. The *Renegado* Christians at *Algiers* and *Tunis* use the poor Christian Slaves with a far greater Barbarity than the Natural *Turks* do. Mr. *M.* thinks, it may be, this is the best Method to atone for his Father's Errors; or else we must say, that it is the Property of one sunk into the Extremes of Degeneracy, to insult those whom they are under natural Obligations to regard.

Methinks it would better become Mr. *M.*'s Character, and be a greater Service to Religion, if instead of annual Invectives on the 30th of *January*, and the flaming Expressions of bigotted and unmerciful Zeal against the *English* Constitution, and *Protestant Dissenters*, he should employ some of his brightest Minutes in the Consideration of a very accurate and laboured *Socinian* Pamphlet, wrote against him, and directed to him several Years ago in very provoking and insulting Terms, and to which I could never learn he had the Courage to reply. For certainly how just soever was the Cause, and how glorious soever the Character of the *Royal Martyr*, it is reasonable to suppose it is of somewhat less Consequence, than the *Divinity* of our Saviour, and the Cause of our common *Christianity*.

I confess it has fallen out somewhat unfortunately, that what Mr. *Dryden* observes of his *Poetry*, holds true of his *Politicks*, that he could never yet thrust himself upon any one for an Adversary. Tho' he has taken some Pains in this Controversie, and has rudely pointed at one and another; yet no Man could ever be perswaded to take any Notice of him, or to examine what he has wrote.

I shall only observe by the Way; He has often intermeddl'd where he was not concern'd, tho' he could never find in his Heart to engage where he was sufficiently provok'd, and has a great Dexterity of ma-

king himself Occasions to pass his Censures upon other Men; for who but Mr. *M.* could have found a Place to reflect upon Dr. *Bates's* Oratory in Remarks upon *Dryden's Virgil*; tho' I dare say, I speak the Sense of the discerning and impartial World; that Dr. *Bates* will be read and admired, when Mr. *M's.* best Performances will be forgot and lost out of the World, both *Poetry* and *Politicks* too. But Recrimination looks like Prejudice; so I'll drop it. However, it is no Harm to let Mr. *M.* see he can be talk'd to in his own Dialect, and that he has as much Reason as any Man, to treat those that differ from him with at least the Modesty of a Christian. But enough of this; only I shall beg Leave to drop a few Notes upon his *Politicks*, which I find in his Sermons on the 30th of *January*.

It is not worth while to draw up a formal Answer, or to follow him in all his Extravagancies. His *Tom of Bedlam* Talk does not deserve it; and therefore I shall only satisfy my self in touching upon two or three of his general Mistakes, and in making some few Remarks upon the mischievous Tendency of the Liberty the *High-flying* Clergy take on the 30th of *January*.

1. Mr. *M.* would insinuate that *Monarchy* is of *Divine Right*. One would think the Revolution had entirely cancel'd this Principle; yet many are loath to part with it. The Uni-

* *Hist. of Eng.* versity of *Oxford* was so far asham'd
p. 421. Vol. III. of those warm *Decrees* which were
made in Favour of this Opinion (in

Complaisance to the Court); that at the Revolution, tho' they were not so publicly retracted, as they had been apparently contradicted in Practice by those very Persons, who were the first Promoters of them; yet they took Care to pass this tacit Condemnation of them, by privately ordering the printed Copies of them to be taken from the Halls, and other publick Places, where
before

before they had hung in Triumph. Which occasioned, as the Historian says, this Piece of Wit;

*Cum Fronti sit nulla Fides, ut Carmina dicunt;
Cur tibi Bifronti, Jane, sit ulla Fides.*

It wou'd have been a Piece of Justice if Mr. M. had been as modest. But it is fit he should have fair Play: And lest any think I abuse him by Misrepresentation, you shall have it in his own Words; In the *Penny Sermon*, Jan. 30th, 170⁶. p. 5. he says, *If we enquire into the first Kind of Government in the World, we can find none but that of FATHERS and of KINGS: The whole Book of God gives us Instance of no other. The best Heathen Writers agree in the Antiquity of Kingly Government. So Cicero tells us that all the most ancient Nations were govern'd by Kings. And Salust. and Just. say the same. And as Monarchy was the nearest Resemblance of the Government of all things by God himself; so it was a peculiar Blessing which God promised to bestow upon his own People Israel. And so in Pages 6, 7, 8. he tells us, Saul, David and Solomon were Kings by Divine Appointment, without the Consent and Approbation of the People. And then further to prove all this, he brings in the Church to avow the Truth of this Doctrine, asserting the Divine Right of Kings, in her Homilies, Articles, Common-prayer and Canons, &c. Pag. 9.*

An undue Medium oftentimes imposes upon the Eye-sight, and leads it into Error. It is dangerous to rely upon any Man's Authority; for it happens frequently, that either thro' Weakness they cannot, or thro' Prejudice and Addictedness to a Faction, they will not give a fair Interpretation of Scripture. They rather accommodate Scripture to their Opinions, than their Opinions to Scripture. And if they have but Wit enough to put a plausible Gloss upon it, and thereby make it subserve their Interest or Notion, they immediately pronounce it Canonical, and of Divine Authority. This Principle had need

to be supported by some more extraordinary Evidence than this poor Man's *ipse dixit* : For while it carries an Aspect which is fatal and destructive to the Liberties of Mankind, or at least leaves them in a very precarious Condition, it will look like a Strain upon the Credulity of Mankind to receive it. If it was recommended by any miraculous Testimony, or by a Force and Strength of Reasoning that would render it obvious to any Capacity, it were something. Why, says Mr. *M.* here is plain Scripture ! Well, but suppose I shou'd say, it is his abusive Interpretation, which others have done before him, to serve an indirect Interest. How often has Scripture been made use of, to justify Principles which have contradicted the common Reason and Sense of Mankind. We'll try if Mr. *M.*'s Position will not run us into Absurdities.

(1). This looks like an *Impeachment* of all other *Forms* and *Species* of Government, as unlawful. Can it be less than a Violation of a Divine Appointment, to constitute any Government without forming it exactly according to this Model. The Want of Divine Revelation will be allow'd to extenuate the Fault. Tho' it is Observ'd in most Parts of the World, where Christianity is not known, that an absolute Monarchy is, and has generally been, the Establish'd Government. Methinks it is a little surprizing, that the barbarous Parts of the World shou'd hit upon juster Notions of Government, by the meer Conduct of the Light of Nature, than the Christian World should, that have Divine Revelation to inform them. By this Way of reasoning Our Neighbours the *Dutch*, (for whom Mr. *M.* if I am rightly inform'd, has Reasons of particular Respects) and all other Christian Commonwealths are in a damnable Condition, in setting up a Constitution which does in no respect comport with a Divine Institution. A Jurisdiction of a Divine Right is not alterable by the Will and Power of Man. So that according to this Account the *French* and *Turks* are
the

the happiest People in the World, in hitting upon the right Measures of Government.

(2). This is subversive of the *English Constitution*. 'Tis granted it is a Monarchy; but so limited and restrain'd, that it can't exert it self beyond the Boundaries of the Laws. It is a Mixture of several Forms of Government; and tho' Monarchy is predominant in the Constitution, it is not the whole governing Power, which is made up of three Constituent Parts, *QUEEN, Lords and Commons*; and these united, are unlimited by every thing but the End for which God gave it; *to wit*, the Good of the People. But if this Divine Right of Kingly Power can be made evident, it can't be deny'd but in Consequence, it must supersede all these Limitations, and render it absolutely unlawful to adulterate and infringe a Divine Institution. These Principles have been justified by the Parliament in the Censure of Dr. *Sacheverell*, and in their Approbation of the incomparable Performances of Mr. *Benjamin Hoadly*. This is a Proof Mr. *M.* with all his Courage, dare not meddle with.

But Mr. *M.* is extremely angry at these several Distinctions and Lodgments of the supreme Power. *Penny Sermon, Jan. 30th, 170³ p. 18.* It is worth taking Notice how he confutes this. (1.) *By a bare Assertion of the contrary.* (2.) *By censuring it as the Notion that kindled the Flames of Rebellion against King Charles I.* it is a Wonder he did not think of that against King James II. (3.) *From a particular Act of the executive Power.* (4.) *From the Statute Laws of the Land.* (5.) *From the Titles of Supreme and Sovereign that are ascribed to the King.* The Laws (says he) declare the Crown of England a Monarchy, Independent, Imperial, and from God only, p. 19. The high Court of Parliament is the King's great Council. Every Member of Parliament is his Subject, and the Prince his Sovereign, &c. What does all this tend to prove, but either that Mr. *M.* has a Mind to equivocate, and ban-

ter the Constitution, or else, that he knows nothing of the Matter.

His first Proof is answer'd by denying his Position. 2. If the Notion was false in King *Charles I's* Time, it was also false when it was made use of to oppose King *James II.* As to the third, it is ridiculous. And as to the Laws declaring the Crown of *England* independent, it can mean no more than securing the *King's* Title against all foreign Claims of Jurisdiction, either by the *Pope*, or Usurpers at home. (5.) As to the Titles of *Supreme* and *Sovereign* that are ascribed to him; I answer, Meer Titles are no sufficient Discovery of the Power in a Commonwealth, especially if we find in Fact that it is quite otherwise.

I shall express the first Proof of this in the Words of a judicious Author; *

* *A Letter to a Friend*, p. 6, 7. " The Crown is own'd to be the
 " supreme of these Authorities, and
 " in some Cases the Crown is the
 " whole Power of the Kingdom; as for Instance,
 " the Power of making Peace and War is entire-
 " ly in the Crown; so is the executive Part of
 " the Law. But then to restrain this Power, even
 " where it is absolute, from exerting to any thing
 " unreasonable or unjust; there is first as to the
 " making an unreasonable War, no Money to be
 " rais'd for carrying on this War, or for any thing
 " else without a *House of Commons*. In the next
 " Place, to redress erroneous Judgments or Decrees,
 " upon which Executions would follow; those Judg-
 " ments or Decrees made by the *QUEEN's* Court
 " may be revers'd by an Appeal to the *House of*
 " *Lords*, which is the supreme Court of Judicature,
 " and from whence no Appeal lies to the Crown:
 " For where the Kings are not the whole entire
 " Power, the Case of *Meum* and *Tuum* is often dis-
 " puted betwixt the King and the Subject. Subjects
 " of such Kings are not tamely to submit, and give
 " up their Rights, because the King will have those
 " Rights: And if the last Appeal should lie to the
 " King,

“ King, then wou’d the King be Judge in his own
 “ Cause. Therefore the wise Laws in this King-
 “ dom, which can’t be made or repealed, but by the
 “ united Power of the three Constituent Parts of Go-
 “ vernment, which therefore are equally obligatory
 “ upon Prince and Subject, have provided, that the
 “ Judges, who act even by the Crown’s Commission,
 “ shall give Judgment according to Law, in all Con-
 “ troversies between the Crown and the Subject:
 “ and this Way the Crown is controul’d, even by
 “ those who act by the Crown’s Commission; and I
 “ hope not at the Peril of their Salvation: And if the
 “ Judges shall make an erroneous Judgment, the ag-
 “ grieved may be redress’d by an Appeal to the
 “ Lords; from whom is no Appeal.

2. Since Mr. *M.* is so fond of pressing Names and Titles for Arguments, let’s try him at his own Weapon, and see what force it will have. It is most usual to say, the *Parliament* makes Laws, and we find it to be no such great Impropriety. They not only propose, but enact. We need not run any further for Enquiry, but to the *Acts* of *Parliament*. This very Title bespeaks Authority. And therefore our Acts of Parliament are said to be enacted by the Authority of Parliament, or by the King’s Majesty, and the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled. But it may be, Mr. *M.* will find out a Way of making Petitioning and Authority all one.

3. It may be, the Authority of King *Charles I.* may have some Weight in it. In his Answer to the 19 *Propositions*, He declares, there are “ three Kinds of
 “ Government amongst Men; *Absolute Monarchy, Aris-*
 “ *tocracy*, and *Democracy*, and all these have their par-
 “ ticular Conveniences and Inconveniences. The Ex-
 “ perience and Wisdom of our Ancestors had so
 “ moulded this out of a Mixture of these, as to give
 “ this Kingdom (as far as humane Prudence can pro-
 “ vide) the Conveniency of all three, without the In-

“ convenience of any one of them. And in the same Answer affirms, “ the Laws are jointly made by a *King*, “ by a *House of Peers*, and by a *House of Commons*, chosen by the People, all having free Votes and particular Priviledges; the Government of these Laws are entrusted to the King. And further says, that “ the Law is the Measure of his Power. There is much more to the same purpose, but tedious to recite.

What reason Mr. *M.* has to be so angry, let any one judge. These Considerations present us with a different Species of *Monarchy* than what Mr. *M.* would obtrude upon us. His shuffling and quibbling and arguing from the Surface and Ornaments of the Constitution will never prevail to recommend his Scheme, as an Article of our Faith, while we have such Authorities as are beforementioned, to over-rule him. Could the People of *England* apprehend their just Rights more effectually secured by this Principle, there would be the less Debate. And therefore, till we do, we must beg his Pardon, and suspend our Assent, and pay the utmost Deference to the Wisdom of our Ancestors, who have left us the most happy, and best form'd Constitution of Government in the World.

However, let us pay the utmost Respect to Mr. *M.*'s Principle, and examine a little further into the Consequences of it. If the whole Sovereign Power be plac'd in the Hands of the Prince, as Mr. *M.* would fain make us believe it is; then all the Security we can find for our Natural Right, depends on the arbitrary and uncertain Pleasure of the Prince. By this means we shall be led into a Difference about the very Ends of Civil Government, which is so plain and obvious, that one would think it impossible. But when Men run into absurd Notions, they have nothing but absurd Reasons to maintain them. Is it the prime End of Government to exalt the Grandure and Dignity of one Man above the rest of his fellow Creatures, or the good and Welfare of the People? The very same Reasons which convince us of the Necessity of Government, will also
tell

tell us the End of it ; which no body can believe to be any other than the common Safety. If so, then we can't but judge that Constitution best, which has the greatest Tendency to secure these Ends. But this Notion of a Divine Right, spoils all our Reasoning, for we must pay that Deference, as to set aside all Stipulations, and Contracts with our Princes for this purpose ; and submit our selves absolutely to their despo-tick Humour. Thus we can't avoid coming into the strange Conclusions of those Gentle-men ; who assert that an *English* Parlia-ment have no more *Power*, than, to give an inauthoritative Advice, which the Prince may follow, or not as he pleases ; and that the *Coronation-Oath*, whatever it may be with respect to God, yet with respect to the People, it is only a cus-tomary Ceremony, or an insignificant Formality : And that all the Limitations of Government are but the King's temporary and arbitrary Concessions which he may retract without doing any Injustice to the Peo-ple : Nay, and the Parliament are also under Obliga-tion to cancel all their Pretences to Authority, and must submit their Commission at the Peril of their Sal-vation (whatever essential Branches they are thought to be of the Constitution) to the absolute Will of the Prince, which must be judg'd according to this Hy-pothesis, the sole Spring of Government. These are hard Sayings, who can bear them ? They are indeed frightful Speculations, and no Wonder that humane Nature, which has an indelible Concern impress'd upon it, for its Preservation, starts at the very Ap-pearance of them.

*Collect. of State
Tracts. p. 321. Vol.
I.*

Yet if it had been only a clashing of Arguments, and differing Sentiments, it would have been tolerable ; but the worst of it was, they ventur'd on Experiments to settle the Government upon this Basis ; and what tragical Effects it has had, 'tis dismal to consider. To give a Detail of the Particulars, would be to open a most melancholy Scene ; and yet just to say so, would be

* *Wilson's Hist.*
of King James I.
p. 191. 202.

be talking without Evidence. This Notion * was conjured up in King James I. Reign, to feed the extravagant Humour of Prerogative, which was got to such a Height, that Sir *Ed. Coke* call'd it an *Overgrown Monster*. It is very probable it was a *Popish Apparition*; yet it was a Pretence that all the Dependants upon the Crown, both in Church and State, were fond of. It would not have past current without the Blessing of the Ecclesiasticks, who were continually preaching and distilling into the King, the *Almightiness* of his Power: And that all that the People had, was the King's, and that it was by his Mercy they had a bare empty Being. It was the Itch of Dominion, (as some think) was the Downfall of the Apostate Angels: And *Adam's* Affectation of Divine Prerogative, was his, and the Ruin of his Posterity. And therefore well might a Prince that is moulded of the same common Earth with our selves, and with all the Infirmities of humane Nature, be elated with these kind of Flatteries, and thereby tempted to forget the just Bounds of his Authority. This new Investiture of Power had a fatal Influence, it leading the King to insult, and despise Parliaments, as the great Infringers of his Prerogative Royal, which oblig'd the *Parliament* to make a Protestation, Dec. 19. 1621. asserting that the *Liberties, Franchises, Priviledges and Jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and the undoubted Birthright*
* *Ibid.* p. 188. *and Inheritance of the Subjects of England, &c.* *

In the next Reign things were carried much higher. Tho' *Mr. M.* would perswade the World in his Sermon Jan. 30th. 1702. p. 1. That this Prince's Government was gentle, under which the Subjects enjoy'd their Religion in its Apostolical Purity, their Laws with just Liberty, and their Estates and Fortunes with an inviolable Security. *Mr. M.* should have blotted out *Rushworth's Collections*, or have confuted them, and all the Histories of those Times before he had told this Story. It makes
me

me think what the *Poet* says in his *Description of Fame*, will serve to fill up a Part of Mr. *M*'s Character.

Tam ficti pravique tenax, &c. — Virg. *Æneid*. Lib. IV.
 ——— *atque infecta canebat.*

What must a Man say, when he talks the Reverse of all the Histories which were writ of these Times. Upon the Accession of this Prince to the Throne, there were early Attempts made to grasp at an absolute Power, and to subvert the ancient Constitution, by invading the great Fundamental of all Liberty and Property, the Right of the People of *England*, in imposing Money upon themselves. This divine Right of Monarchy set aside the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom

* to levy Ship-Money, Subsidies of *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, which were determined by his Father's Death. Rais'd an Army and required the Country to find Coat and Conduct Money, and a Multitude of illegal

* *Hist. of Eng.* Vol. III. p. 7, 10, 13, 18, 26, 28, 49, 96.

Taxes, Fines, Monopolies, &c. without Consent of Parliament. Every Project was embraced that had but an Appearance of supplying the Crown, that they might avoid the necessary Settlement of successive Parliaments. Parliaments were brow-beaten, and their Authority questioned and slighted; and the Methods of their Proceedings controul'd, contrary to their Fundamental Rights and Privileges, toss'd up and down by sudden Adjournments, Prorogations and Dissolutions. The Houses, Studies and Pockets of divers of their Members search'd, their Persons, against express Law imprisoned, and the free Debates in Parliament made subject to the restraining Power and Censure of inferiour Courts and Judges. Ecclesiasticks of arbitrary Principles promoted and preferr'd. And to support all these desperate Designs, they form'd a Pretence to get an * Army; and had therefore remitted 30000*l.* to *Balemark* a Dutch Merchant, to raise 1000 German Horse beyond Sea, which were to be brought hither, that they might settle

* *Russw. Col.* Vol. I. p. 478.

the Martial Law, and thereby be enabled to raise what Money the Council thought fit; and to make Proclamations and Orders of State, to be as binding to the Subject, as Acts of Parliament. I protest it is with a Concern that I mention these Mismanagements; and I can't forbear pitying the unhappy Circumstances of that unfortunate *Prince*, who was push'd on by the intoxicating Notions of *High Church*, to pursue such oppressive Measures as ended in his own Ruin, and the miserable Distraction of the Kingdom.

Tho' these are horrid Evidences of the dangerous and destructive Tendency of these Notions; yet upon the Restoration this was the fashionable Principle, and the main Spring of Government. The Remembrance of former Disappointments oblig'd them to strike into different Measures, and to apply themselves to fraudulent Court Artifices, which if a remarkable Turn of Providence had not interpos'd, had effectually succeeded to oppress the Liberty of the Nation before we had come to the Succession of K. *James*: Nay, and then the full Cry at first was for *Jure-Divino* and arbitrary Power, 'till the Clouds of *Popery* began to gather, and threaten the Church and State with an entire Inundation: Which Apprehension reduc'd the Thoughts of those Men who were principally concern'd, to the legal Limitation of Kingly Power, as fully appear'd by the *Bishops* Remonstrance to K. *James*, just before, or about the Time of the Prince of *Orange's* Descent.

This darling *Hypothesis* which Mr. *M.* and others of his Brethren are so fond of, and advance with an Air of Infallibility; upon the Revolution and succeeding Settlement, fell into Disgrace. The Prospect of universal Ruin either discovered the fraudulent Foundation of this Principle, or it enlightened their Understandings as it did the Prodigal, and so brought the generality who had been zealous for it, to themselves. It was always the stated Opinion of all good Men, that a keeping close to the Constitution is our greatest Security; and Necessity has made it prevailing. Our present Settlement gives an universal Satisfaction, insomuch that it is impossible

impossible to put any other Interpretation on the Fit of Zeal, in reviving those exploded Opinions, than an ingrateful Reflection upon the miraculous Hand of Heaven which saved us. It can be compared to nothing so much as the hankering of the *Israelites* after the Garlick and Onions of *Egypt*. But I hope they'll excuse us, if we are more satisfied with heavenly *Manna* than the Bondage of *Egypt*.

But to pass on, Mr. *M.* will hardly take it civilly if I should pass by his Objections without Notice. Scripture Authority is weighty. It hath but one Sense, tho' such is the Perversity of humane Nature, the Curiosity of some, and the selfish Humour of others, that they do make it capable of various Interpretations: Divine Authority is a very popular Argument, without which Error would never tincture vulgar Apprehensions, and this obliges the looser Sort of Priests who grasp at nothing but Interest, to bring God himself to avouch all their Absurdities. These are the Devil's Commentators, and how well he could pervert Scripture, was manifest by the use he made of it in his tempting the Saviour of the World.

Mr. *M.*'s main Basis is Rom. 13. 1. *There is no Power but of God, the Powers that be, are ordain'd of God.*

It must be granted that Civil Government is of divine Institution, tho' the Form or Constitution is left to the Determinations of humane Prudence, and notwithstanding all that Mr. *M.* says, we cannot find that the Scripture has recommended the determinate Form or Species of Government, which we should above all others submit to. The very Government of the *Jews* had different Forms, and subject to the same Variations that have hapned in other Nations. It's easy enough to perceive by any one that reads the Bible without Prejudice, that theirs was not Monarchical, 'till the Election of *Saul*. And it is very surprizing to consider that a People who were so remarkably the Care of Heaven, and distinguish'd from the rest of the World by so many extraordinary Priviledges, should be excluded so long as they were from Monarchy, had

it been so peculiar a Blessing, or originally of Divine Institution.

Obj. But Mr. *M.* says he can find no other Government but that of *Fathers* and *Kings*. Which implies that upon the ceasing of Patriarchal Government, Kingly Government must succeed. Which happened on God's creating *Moses* King in *Jeshurun*, as I suppose he means. Who can help it if Mr. *M.* has read his Bible no better? As will appear from these several Considerations.

1. It's very rational to suppose there was a civil Government, establish'd in the very Line wherein the Church was preserv'd, and from whence the *Messiah* was to spring, ; but whether it was of divine Ordination, or by whom, or in what Form it was exercised is not certain. There are more probable Reasons to suppose it arose from Consent than otherwise. And tho' it be allow'd that *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob* were Kings, and exercised a political Authority over their Families, yet it is plain enough there was not a Succession of this Power to the Eldest of the Family: For it is apparent that *Jacob* and *Esau* were independent of each other, and had their distinct Government. Nay, farther in *Jacob's* own Family; we find *Judah* exercising a Royal Power, in the

Genes. 38. Sentence he pass'd upon *Tamar*; tho'
24. his Father was alive, and he the Fourth Son of the Family, and as yet he had no

Right to the *Primo-geniture*. Now whether this was an Act proceeding from any inherent Power he had in himself, as he was Head of his own Family, or by Deputation from his Father *Jacob*; let the Patriarchal Gentlemen determine. By this it looks as if every Father was Monarch over his own Family. So that here was but a little Face of Monarchy in the same Line, where there was so many Equals.

2. Whatever Form of Government this of Patriarchal was; yet it ceas'd upon the Establishment of King *Moses*, as Mr. *M.* calls him, from *Dent.* 33. 5. Tho' many

ny.

ny Commentators think God is meant by that Apellation *. 'Tis true *Moses* was a wonderful and divine Man, as the *Ægyptians* call'd him, and purposely rais'd up by God to be the Founder of the *Jewish* Commonwealth. This Constitution was immediately form'd by God himself, of which *Moses* was the Promulger: Therefore it is Pity it should be distinguished by any common Name, being very properly call'd by *Josephus* against *Appion*, a *Theocracy*. If it should be said that *Moses* was invested with the whole executive Power; yet this lasted no longer than the Institution of the *Sanhedrim*; which considerable Alteration was made pursuant to God's own Command, upon which Account the Government may be call'd a Mixture of *Monarchy* and *Aristocracy*: So that at least according to these Gentlemen's Notions, the Establishment of a House of Lords, is according to a divine Ordination, which no Kingly Power can supersede.

3. If this Government of the *Jews* was purely Monarchical, what shall we make of the *Interregnums*, or Distances between Judge and Judge; which we may observe sometimes to have been very long. As from the Death of *Joshua* to the Election of *Othniel*, seems to have been a considerable Term of Years; insomuch that without a supreme Head the Community could not have subsisted. It must be supposed either the Government was *Aristocratical* or *Democratical*, or neither; which last is an idle Supposition. So that it is very probable either the *Sanhedrim* alone, manag'd all the Concerns of Government, or in Conjunction with the *High Priest*, as they had done before in Concurrence with *Moses* and *Joshua*. Indeed there are Appearances of a *Democracy* as a learned Author takes Notice. When the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad* and half that of *Manasseh*, had built an Altar on the other Side of *Jordan*; the whole Congregation of the Children of *Israel* gathered together at *Shiloh* to go up

* *Munst. Clav.
rius. Masius in
Loc.*

*Sydney of Gov.
Pag. 99.
Josh. 22. 13,
14.*

to War, and sent *Phineas* the Son of *Eleazer*, and with him ten Princes, &c.

“ This was the highest and most important Action
 “ that could concern a People, even War or Peace,
 “ and that not with Strangers but with their own Bre-
 “ thren, *Joshua* was then alive, the *Elders* never fail’d,
 “ but this was not transacted by him or them, but by
 “ the collected Body of the People: For they sent
 “ *Phineas*. . . This *Democratical Embassy* was *Democrati-*
 “ *cally* received: It was not directed to any one Man but
 “ to all the Children of *Reuben*, *Gad* and *Manasseh*, and
 “ the Answer was sent by all, which being pleasing to
 “ *Phineas* and the Ten that were with him, they made
 “ their Report to the Congregation, and all was quiet.

4. The Election of a *Judge* did not at all supersede their stated or settled Constitution, (which some of the best *Jewish* Writers, as well as *Christian*, think to be an *Aristocracy*) no more than a *Dictator* at *Rome*, or the *Doge* of *Venice*, or *Stattholder* in *Holland*, could destroy the Form of their Commonwealths. He was such a Person as either the Constitution allow’d of, or whom God directed them to, upon extraordinary and emergent Occasions. But whatever their Dignity or Power was for the Time being, yet they differ’d from a King; which there is such apparent Reason for, as any but a Slave to an Opinion would think undeniable. Why should *Gideon* refuse to be a King, if he was a King already. And is it not absurd to say *Samuel* was their King, at the same Time they insisted upon having a King to be like other Nations; or that it should be charged on them as a Sin for desiring a King, if *Samuel* was their King already. * Some think that the chief Business of the Judges was, to be only their Leaders or Captains to conduct their Armies, which does not appear improbable, from divers Circumstances. They were merely occasional, somewhat like the *Roman Dictators*, and such as were inspired by God with Wisdom and Resolution suited to the Urgency of the Case. These few Hints are

* *Lock of Gov.*
 Pag. 248.
Cicero de Rep.
 Lib. p. 68.
Goodwin's Antiq.
 Pag. 2.

are sufficient to demonstrate that the Government of the *Jews* was quite different from what it was upon *Saul's* Accession to the Throne of *Israel*.

I hope the Reader will forgive this Digression; which is not altogether impertinent for the Illustration of Mr. *M's* Text. These Gentlemen embarrass the Apostle's Meaning by confining it to what, it is not likely, he ever thought of; *to wit*, the Establishment of an absolute Despotick Government, exclusive of all others. It is evident that the several Forms of Government have past a Divine Approbation: else the Scriptures must be made to speak so inconsistently, as will be past the Skill of these Gentlemen to reconcile the several Parts of it. And Mr. *M.* who complains so much of Atheism, one would think, shou'd take Care, not to put any Advantage into the Hands of those, who are forward enough to catch at every Pretence to weaken the Credit of reveal'd Religion. But to get over this Text, I shall offer two or three Considerations.

It would argue a strange Extravagancy in our Thoughts to imagine that ever Christ intended to comprehend the Principles of Policy in the Revelation of the Christian Religion; whereby we might exactly calculate the Measures of Civil Authority, and determine the Right of Princes, *Evangelium non mutat Politeias*. If the Life of Christ was a Comment upon his Doctrine, the contrary is very evident, by his refusing the Decision of the Civil Rights of two private Persons about the Division of a single Inheritance. His Business was of a quite different Nature, and more agreeable to the Dignity of the Son of God: It was distinct from Civil Interest; tho' indeed it was to erect a Kingdom, but not of this World; the Constitution of which was altogether Spiritual, and design'd for a more excellent Purpose than the Security of the common Concerns of Life. This wou'd have seem'd foreign to his purpose, to have made any Alteration in the Rights of Princes: therefore he only gives a general Direction for a Submission to the Municipal
Laws

Laws of the Kingdom ; *Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's*. Leaving Princes without any further Prescription, in the quiet Possession of all those Rights they were entitled to, by the Constitutions of the Country, provided they did not infringe upon God's Prerogatives.

It is a strain upon the Apostle's Words to imagine he carry'd this Matter any higher. And this may easily be apprehended by considering the Occasion of his pressing this Document upon them. There had run a Scruple among the *Jewish* Christians, which also had infected the *Gentile* Converts about their Subjection to the Jurisdiction of *Heathen* Magistrates ; tho' it seems to be grounded upon different Reasons. The *Jews* judg'd it to be a tyrannical Usurpation upon them, as being directly contrary to the fundamental Laws and Constitution of their own Country, which were immediately established by God himself. This was an old rooted Opinion amongst the *Jews*, as may be evident from the ensnaring Question propos'd to our Saviour, about paying Tribute to *Caesar* : The *Jewish* Christians thought the Doctrine of the Gospel, which was a Doctrine of Liberty, justified this Notion ; upon which the *Gentile* Christians also were led to entertain the same Sentiments. And farther being prohibited by the Apostle to go to Law about personal Injuries before Heathen Judges, they were tempted to think, that it would be a Disparagement to the Christian Religion, to acknowledge their Authority at all.

The Apostle, to prevent the spreading of this Error, which might have been extremely prejudicial to the Propagation of Christianity ; and justly might have given a fair Pretence to the *Heathens*, to have bent all their Force for the Extirpation of it ; gives undeniable Reasons in the Words of the *Text*, to oblige their Submission to, and Acknowledgement of the Lawfulness of the *Heathen* Power and Jurisdiction. And this he does by asserting that all Kinds
of

of Government deriv'd their Authority from God, as well as that of the *Jews*; tho' they had not the whole Frame of their Government immediately from him, as the *Jews* had. The general Corruption of humane Nature, and the Exorbitancy of Mens Passions had made Government necessary; and therefore, as God had by the Law of Nature subjected the Woman to the Man, and Children to Parents; so he had appointed in the general Magistracy and Subjection for the common Security, without either specifying the Form, or determining whether by one or more the supreme Jurisdiction should be exercis'd. The Sense of the Apostle may be easily understood from the Opinion he obviates. It was nothing relating to the Constitution or Form of Government; whether lawful or unlawful; nor whether the *Senate* or *Emperour* had a Right to the Exercise of the supreme Power; or whether both in Conjunction; but whether the *Heathens* had any Right to challenge their Subjection, let the Form of their Government be what it wou'd; and whether they were under any Obligation to acknowledge their Authority. The Apostle proves the Affirmative from God's Institution of the Office of a supreme Magistracy; and further shews that the supreme Power amongst the *Romans* deriv'd its Authority from the Law of Nature, which is also God's Law, but as the Law of Nature has in no Respects determin'd the Form, or the Person or Persons exercising this Power; so the Apostle does not concern himself with that; but only gives a general Description of Magistracy, as is evident from the excellent Ends and Properties, which he enumerates, which may justly be appropriated to that Authority which God had instituted: But how this can be applicable to the Government of *Nero*, I can't imagine. But whether *Nero* or *Claudius* had rightful Titles to the Exercise of the supreme Power, or whether it ought to have been lodged in the Hands of the *Senate*, it was not the Christian Doctrine, but the Laws and Constitutions of the Empire, must determine. Therefore in this the Apo-

stle

file is wholly silent, it being altogether foreign to the Business of the Gospel. But if the Apostle is suppos'd hence to assert the Divine Right of an absolute Monarchy, and that *Nero*, that *Monster of Mankind* deriv'd this Power from God, it will follow, that not only all other Forms of Government are unlawful, as not deriving their Power from God: but it would tend to justify all Usurpations of the supreme Power which *Nero* and *Claudius* were notoriously guilty of, as may easily be demonstrated from the Historians of those Times. Besides, it would contradict the Ends of Government expressly mentioned by the Apostle, and made the Reason of their Subjection and Non-resistance.

It will afford a little Diversion to observe how Mr. *M.* proves his Notion, and in this he is just like a Man that tells half a Story, and leaves one to guess the rest. He says, when the People grew weary of their *old Government*, they desired a King, and after they had preferr'd this Request to *Samuel*, he says, *Samuel, consults no further with them, but he lays their Request before the Lord; who commands Samuel to comply with their Desires, and he himself would send the Person to him whom he shou'd anoint, to be Captain over his People; so he sends Saul, whom Samuel anoints without consulting with the People; so the Choice of him was not referr'd to the People on the Day appointed for that purpose, but wholly determined by God.* And he says, *God did not leave the People more at Liberty in the Case of David.* Serm. Jan 30 170^c. p. 5, 6.

This Man will never commence Doctor for his judicious Comments upon Scripture. The softest Interpretation that can be put upon it, is, that it is only a little popular Cant to serve a Party; and no Man so fit for it, as he that will take such Liberties as any honest Man will abhor. With what Face can he say that God imposed a King upon them, or establish'd a Kingly Government without their Consent, when,

1. It is evident they importuned *Samuel* for a King, not because God had appointed it, but because they would

would be like other Nations round about them, i *Sam.* 8. 4, 5. *Then all the Elders of Israel gathered themselves together, and came to Samuel to Ramah, and said unto him, behold thou are old, and thy Sons walk not in thy Ways : Now make us a King to judge us, like all the Nations.* And the next Verse says, that it was displeasing to *Samuel*, when they said, *Give us a King to judge us ;* which hardly would have been, had it been of divine Institution.

2. God directs *Samuel* to dissuade them from such a Request, which he does in the same Chapter, *v.* 9. by giving them such a Description of the arbitrary Rule of Kings, as should discourage them from entertaining a Thought of such a Government; which one would think is but an indifferent Complement to the *divine Right* of Kingly Power.

3. God himself resents this Desire as the greatest Affront that could be offer'd to him; who not only had establish'd the present Form of Government they were under, but immediately presid'd over them, and rais'd up for them extraordinary Persons to serve them in their greatest Difficulties and Emergencys, and therefore in the same Chapter *v.* 7. he says to *Samuel*, *they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.*

4. Tho' God had fix'd on a Person to be their King, and wonderfully endued him for the Exercise of Government; yet it is evident their *Consent* was necessary to establish him; therefore upon his first Election we find in *Sam.* 10. 24. Some accepted him, and others despised him saying, *how can this Man save us ?* But when he had signalized himself by the Defeat of *Nahash*, and the People impress'd with a warm Sense of their Deliverance, *Samuel* very wisely takes the Opportunity of their good Humour, and says, *Come, let us go up to Gilgal, and there renew the Kingdom; and the People went up to Gilgal, and there made Saul King before the Lord,* i *Sam.* 11. 15. Which plainly infers that *Samuel* thought the People's Approbation necessary for the Confirmation of

the Kingdom to *Saul*; for after that they all own'd and obey'd him, which they refus'd to do before.

5. In 1 *Sam.* 12. 18, 19. *Samuel* was at the Expence of a Miracle, to convince them of their Sin in desiring a King, and the Alteration of their former Government; which seems as if God was so far from instituting this Kind of Government, that it can hardly be said that he approv'd of it. And

* *Sydney of Gov.* P. 96. * *Philo* one of the *Jewish* Writers imputes the Institution of Government as it was in *Israel*, neither to God, nor his Word; but to the Fury of a sinful People, which is more probable by the Circumstances then otherwise.

There might be the same Remarks in *David's* Case, which I shall at present omit.

Now to put all the Circumstances of this important Transaction together, the most that can be inferr'd, is, that absolute Monarchy is a lawful Government, which yet amongst the *Jews* was scarce absolute: But that it appears to be the most desirable, or recommended and appointed by God, I profess I can't see it: Nor I believe ever shall, 'till I am Master of this *Doctor's* Eyesight, which probably he thinks is endued with an extraordinary Penetration. So that he must find some better Reasons to support his *Hypothesis*, to make me his Profelyte, and 'till then, I shall take leave of the Authority he produces from Scripture.

As for what Mr. *M.* says from the Antiquity of Kingly Power, 'tis hardly worth taking Notice of: I suppose he can't infer from thence a divine Institution, or wou'd have the Practice of the ignorant *Pagans* to be the Rule of our Conduct. It's strange they should fall so naturally in with a divine Institution, which those, who were entrusted with the Oracles of Heaven were absolutely Strangers to, 'till the Alteration of their Government, which hapned upon *Saul's* Election: And even then it was introduc'd with no extraordinary Encomium.

I shall not enter into an Examination of the Original of Kingly Power, being no Way pertinent to the present Purpose. We can find this, while Kingly Power was exerted for the common Good, the People were led into an easie and quiet Submission to it: But when they began to feel the Weight and Encroachments of arbitrary Power, it oblig'd them, to restrain the Tyrannical Exercise of it by establish'd Laws, whereby they secured the common Right and Safety, from the Reach and Insults of the exorbitant Dominion of their Princes, which was called a *Regal Power*. *Ibid.* p. 153. The other without these Restraints was called *Tyranny*. The first establish'd by God in Favour of the People, and the other permitted by God for their Affliction and Judgment, as that judicious *Historian* expresses it. These several Considerations will instruct us in the Absurdity of their illusive Principle, and how dangerous a Position it is to the Natural Rights of Mankind. It is a meer Imposition of a designing Clergy, which might have past current by the Subtlety of their reasoning in a Nation less intelligent, or an Age less refin'd than ours. But while Literature abounds amongst the Laity, and any Sparks of Integrity remain amongst any Number of the Churchmen; I do not question but these enslaving Frauds will always meet with the clearest Detection, tho' the greatest Part of them, should conspire against our common Liberty, and happy Constitution of Government.

Just. Lib. I.

*Sir Walter
Rawleigh's Hist.
of the World.
Pag. 152.*

2. The next Mistake Mr. M. prosecutes, is a Denial of *Resistance* to the *supreme Power* in any Respect, and brings in the Apostle Paul to vouch his Errour, in both his *Sermons* Jan. 170³ and 170⁴. In the former, p. 1. he says, *he can't think the Time ill spent, to vindicate the Apostle from the scandalous Intimation that he taught Men to resist those very Powers, whom he had commanded them to obey by his own Example.* The Apostle has a rare Second. In p. 15. he says, *the Apostle never encouraged*

raged any Preacher of the Gospel by his Example, to preach up the Lawfulness of opposing lawful Magistrates upon the Account of their Male-administration.

His Sermon Jan. 30. 170^r. is writ purposely with this View; and I find it somewhat more laboured, and reserved than the former, and writ with Caution as well as Assurance; and yet if you compare it with the Clearness and Sobriety, the Weight of Evidence, and Variety of Reason, with which Mr. *Hoadly* writes; so justly admired by the impartial and judicious, and approved by the Wisdom of the Nation; methinks it is tedious loose Harangue, often incoherent and unconcluding; where whatsoever is material, is only generally touch'd, and occasionally drop'd; no one Point fairly represented, or closely pursued; the same things repeated by himself, the principal things suggested by his Adversary omitted and overlook'd, not without some Meanesses unworthy Notice.

I shall drop a Remark or two on some principal Passages of this Sermon, and then argue the Matter a little with him. His *opposite Paraphrase* is manifestly strange and uncouth, and so far from being natural, as not to be probable: I may safely trust the judicious Reader, who will be easily able not only to discern, but to taste and feel the Difference between them.

Mr. *M.* often mentions the *Roman Emperors* who persecuted the Christians, and committed the greatest Outrage, as the Persons referr'd to by the Apostle, to whom he requires this Subjection, and forbids Resistance upon Pain of Damnation. Whereas it don't appear the *Roman Emperor* contradicted the end of his Office, when the *Apostle* wrote this *Epistle*; nor does he so much as attempt to make it appear: Besides, he ought to consider, that Government is of a Civil Nature, and more ancient than Christianity in the World; that the Christians were a small Part of the *Roman Empire* at that Time; and the Preaching of the Gospel was a formal Opposition to many Laws then in Force; so that the *Roman Emperor* might persecute the Christians (tho' that

that is always a great Evil) in a Consistency with the great End of his Office; that is, of preserving the Civil Liberties, and Rights of the Empire, or main Body of the People; for personal Cases do not affect the Community; a particular Person may be injur'd and oppress'd, when the Community may be safe and flourishing; tho' no Power on Earth has Right to do any personal Wrong. But now if the greatest Part of the *Roman* Empire had been Christian; and especially if under such a Constitution as ours expressly limited and restrain'd by Law; the invading their Natural and Civil Rights, of which the Worship of God according to Mens Consciences, will alway be reckoned a principal one; woud not only warrant, but oblige to make Opposition and to throw off the Yoke: They woud owe this Regard to themselves and their Posterity, nor woud it be resisting any Ordinance of God, for God gives no such Power to any, and there is no Power but what is of God.

And tho' Mr. *M.* fancies the Apostle must needs have his Eye upon the present reigning *Emperor*, and asks why else did the Apostle give such Directions to *Roman* Christians? It is plain the Apostle prescribes standing Rules of Civil Obedience to all Nations, and every Age of the Christian Church: Tho' there was a particular Occasion at this Time, of writing to the *Romans*, and had no more Respect to *Roman* Emperors than *British* Monarchs; to *Nero* than to *Charles I.* nor to either of them, otherwise than as describ'd by such certain Characters.

Indeed Mr. *M.* pretends the Apostle speaks of Governors generally, and without Distinction: That the Precepts of Obedience and Non-resistance are never restrain'd in other Places, as those of private Revenge, &c. Whereas the Apostles *Paul* and *Peter* most expressly distinguish between good Governors and bad; if the most distinguishing Characters in the World can do it; *He is not a Terror to good Works but to evil; who are sent for the Punishment of evil Doers.* Nor was it any Way needful, as it woud not have been proper to

express the Restrictions of Obedience, which were so plainly imply'd in the Character of the Governors that were most express.

He reckons *Magistracy* an *unalienable Ordinance* of God, which neither *Unfaithfulness*, nor *Insufficiency* can disannul: The Persecution of Christians as *no Harm* to them: and Tyranny often a *just Punishment* of the People's Sins, p. 19. But sure Tyranny and Oppression is no Ordinance of God, but directly contrary to his Nature and Will; and such an indelible Character upon any Office appointed to a particular End (especially where limited by express Contract) when that End cannot be attain'd, or is directly oppos'd, is as wild and unintelligible as *occult Qualities*, or *Substantial Forms*. And if it is no *Harm* to suffer Persecution in the Apostle's Sense; yet it may be a great *Wrong*; it is invading their just Rights; tho' it may be an Occasion of good to them, and no Man can have Right to do Wrong, or may do *evil that good may come of it*.

And that it is a *just Punishment*, and most deserved; does not alter the Case; for they may not have deserved it at the Hands of Men, tho' they have at the Hands of God; and their being Instruments of Providence does not constitute a Right; his over ruling the Malice and Wickedness of Men for his own Glory, and several Ends of Good, is no more a Warrant than Approbation. And so the *Jews*, with *wicked Hands* crucified and slew our *Saviour*, tho' it was by the *determinate Council* and *fore-knowledge of God*. And *Senacherib* might lawfully have been resisted, tho' he was the *Rod of God's Anger* against a *Hypocritical Nation*, and *People of his Wrath*. Besides, at this rate, we must never resist any private Injury, for we have deserved every evil, and forfeited all our Good: No Doubt *Abel* deserv'd to die; and God might justly have taken away his Life; but that did not warrant *Cain's* putting him to Death, or make resisting him unlawful. The *Royal Martyr*, with all his Virtues deserved Death for his
own

own Sins, but I hope that did not excuse his Murderers, or make their Crime the less flagitious.

I observe Mr. *M.* in every Sermon delights in bringing in long Catalogues of Names, which he reckons, should render the Doctrine odious; tho' some of them Names of great Distinction and Merit, and much superior to Mr. *M.* in Knowledge, Learning and Religion. But I wou'd desire him to view the other Side of the Case, and observe how easily such fond Methods are capable of being retorted with Advantage. The *Turks* and *Pagans* generally in *China*, *Persia*, &c. the *French* and *Muscovite*, the most persecuting and degenerate Part of the Christian World; All the violent Men of the former Reigns in *England*, the *Lands*, the *Mountagues*, the *Sibthorps*, the *Manmarings*, &c. The *Jacobites* and *Non-jurors* universally, and all the Enemies of the present Establishment, the *Hicks*, the *Lesleys*, not to say the *Sacheverells*, the *Milbournes* embrace this Scheme of absolute Obedience and Non-resistance. But to proceed,

Divine Right and passive Obedience, are the two great Articles of the *High-flying* Creed, and truly we have had such a fatal Experience of the dismal Consequences of both, that we want a Miracle to make them credible. The very Suggestion of them is a traducing of the Constitution, a Reflection on the Wisdom of the Nation, and a most censorious Invective against the Revolution. But what will not a degenerate Churchman venture at, to introduce Church Tyranny and enslave the Consciences of Men: for his Way of reasoning upon this Head is perfect trifling and Delusion. It's plain enough he neither understands the Apostle's Command nor his Behaviour. As to the Apostle's Command the Design of it only was to oblige *Christians* to subject themselves to the Jurisdiction of the *Heathen* Magistrates, but as to the Extent and Measure of their Submission the Apostle is wholly silent, (except the general Measure and Ends of all Government which he expressly mentions, namely the common Good) leaving that to be determined, and adjusted

by the Laws and Constitutions of the *Roman Empire*. It was the Denial of a lawful Subjection which the Apostle calls Resistance, and which alone he argues against. But whether the *Senate*, or the whole Body of the *Roman Empire* might defend their Lives and Liberties, and the Constitutions by which they were secured, against the tyrannical Invasions and unnatural Usurpations of an arbitrary *Nero*; as it was not the Business of the Apostle to determine, and foreign to the Design of *Christianity*, so he does not at all concern himself about that. And how he can make his Appeal to *Cesar* to determine the Question, it is not ealie to imagine. If this is brought either to justify the rightful Title of *Nero* to the supreme Power, or to warrant his Authority in superseding all the Constitutions of the *Roman Empire*, and subjecting them to the Disposition of his arbitrary

Pleasure: I'll appeal to any one that understands the History of those Times, *
 * *Tacit. Lib. 12.* whether Mr. *M.* has not laid a Foundation to justify all the Usurpations in the World, as well as Tyranny: It being certain that his Right to the sovereign Power and the maintaining of it, was altogether supported by Fraud and Violence; and whatever Consent he gain'd from the *Senate*, it was perfectly extorted from them by the same Methods. So that suppose *Monarchy* is of divine Right, this was a notorious Usurpation of it, or else there is no such Thing in the whole World. And yet it may be lawful upon general Reasons from the Example of *Christ*, and the Apostle *Paul*, to yield a Subjection to such a Power, which we may not be satisfied is according to our Laws. But that the Apostle meant such an unlimited Subjection, as must oblige the whole Community, tamely to suffer the very Ends of Government to be destroyed, and to submit in short to one common Ruin, is such an Absurdity as must efface the Law of God and Nature, as well as contradict the Apostle's express Assertion and Limitations, who requires Subjection and Non-Resistance only to such Magistrates, who are not a Terror to good Works, but to the Evil, and is the Minister of

of God for good, and beareth not the Sword in vain, a Revenger to execute Wrath upon him that doth Evil; and attendeth continually on this very Thing.

But to recover my self; I'll grant that Resistance to a Power lawfully exercis'd, and directed to maintain the publick Good, tho' many Mismanagements may happen, is a Sin attended with all the Aggravations the *Apostle* loads it with. The great End of Laws is to be a Bulwark to the Welfare of humane Society, and to ballance the Power and Dominion in every Part of it, and also to restrain the Extravagancies and Disorders which will otherwise occur. Government is of so absolute Necessity that natural Reason leads to it; especially now humane Nature is so depraved, it would leave Life and Property in a very precarious Possession, without such establish'd Laws as are fitted to be the Standard of Right and Wrong, and to adjust all Differences, which otherwise might be prejudicial to the Harmony of the whole Community. Therefore those who enter upon any Measures to subvert the Laws, to restrain the Execution of them, to oppose those who are invested with Authority by common Consent, for the Application of these Rules to the great End and Purposes of Government, are certainly the greatest Enemies to Mankind, as labouring to introduce a common Misery and Destruction, and to subject Liberty and Property to the tempestuous Violence of Men's Passions. So that it is evident from the Safety of Civil Societies, there results the indispensable Duty of Submission to all the Laws enacted for the Preservation of it; and I can't apprehend, but the same Reason lays an indispensable Obligation on Governors to act pursuant to the same Purpose, as far as humane Prudence can direct them: Neither have they any Right from the Laws of God or Man, to enact any Law or to exact any Obedience, but what has a subserviency to promote the common Welfare. Such an Usurpation would extinguish all Allegiance, and empower the Community to defend it self as

against the Hostility of a publick Invader ; otherwise it would be a tacit consenting to our Ruin.

To be more particular ; tho' Magistracy is of divine Institution for such Reasons as are obvious to common Sense : Yet as neither the Charter of Nature or Revelation have determined the Form, but have left every Society to enter upon such Measures as may be most probable to answer the Ends of a divine Appointment ; so neither can any Person (unless a divine Command interposes) pretend any other immediate Right to the Execution of these Laws, but what he derives from such Constitutions as are settled by common Consent. So that abstracting from the Constitution, no Man has a Right to govern us : And if any Prince goes about to annul the Constitution, and subvert the Establishment from whence he derives his Right to the supreme Power, he certainly goes about to destroy his own Right, and consequently absolves his Subjects from all Obedience and Submission to the extravagant Exercises of such a Power.

Therefore if a Prince after he has by most solemn Stipulations, Contracts and Appeals to Heaven, given Assurance to exercise his Government according to the stated and settled Laws and Constitutions of the Country ; should labour to subvert the fundamental Laws, elude his Contracts, break down the Boundaries the Law has set him, assume a Power over the Lives, Liberties and Properties of his Subjects, which he has no legal Right to, and trample upon the very End and original Design of Government ; certainly he hereby cancels all Allegiance, and it is so far from being a Sin, that it is the Duty of the Subjects to oppose him, and to secure themselves from such Attempts as manifestly tend to their Destruction. Or else the natural Instinct God has planted in us, for our own Preservation must be made void. And this will sufficiently justify the severe Proceedings of the *Senate* against that unnatural Monster *Nero*, which tho' the

Chri-

*Lactan. de Mort.
Persecu.*

Christians had no Hand in, yet certainly they approv'd of it. So that Mr. *M*'s Sermons are a very wild Comment upon the Apostle's Doctrines, as if he had enjoin'd a Submission to such an Administration as tends to introduce an universal Ruin. The Absurdity of this will further appear if we consider,

1. The highest *Asserters* of *Monarchy* never understood the Apostle in this Sense. And even those who have been most celebrated for maintaining the Rights and Prerogatives of crowned Heads, as * *Grotius* and *Barclay*, yet they never stated the Matter so; as to foreclose all Resistance. *Grotius* tho' he carries Christian Patience to a vast Height, and to a further Length than his Countryman *Gronovius* thought fit; yet in divers Respects he judges Resistance allowable, for which he brings in *Barclay* as a Voucher. I shall only mention two,

* *Grot. de jure Belli & Pac. Lib. I. Cap. 4. p. 139.*

Not. Gronovij in Grot.

(1.) When a King quits all Care of a Commonwealth, and resolves upon their Destruction. *Si Rex vere hostili animo in totius populi exitium feratur, &c.* As *Nero* and *Caligula*, who had resolved to cut off the Senate and People of Rome, and lay the City waste with Fire and Sword, and then to remove to some other Place. (2.) If a King who has but a *Moiety* of the supreme Power, and the People and Senate the other Part, it is lawful for the Senate or People to defend their Share of the Sovereignty; because his Power is not extended to it. Which is the very Case of *England*, where the supreme Power is lodged in the King, Lords and Commons. Bishop *Bilson*, *Hooker* and others acknowledge the same; Which is needless to mention. Mr. *M*. says, *Serm. 170th. p. 43.* That he never took those two excellent Men for infallible in all Particulars. I hope while he is liable to the same Exception, he will excuse our admitting the Weight of their Suffrages to overrule his weaker Judgment, especially when it is set in Competition with their Penetration.

2. *Self-Defence* is so considerable a Part of the *Law of Nature*, one would wonder how any Man can oppose it. It is a Principle so universally rooted in Nature as neither the finest Flourish of Words, nor the most plausible Pretences can ever obliterate

* *Lock of Gov.* it. * *Barclay* puts the Question thus ;
 P. 348. Must the People submit to the Rage and Fury of Tyranny, and suffer the utmost Devastation? Must Men be debarr'd the common Priviledge of opposing Force with Force, which Nature allows so freely to all other Creatures, for their Preservation from Injury? He answers, *Self-Defence* is a Part of the *Law of Nature*; nor can it be denied to a Community, even against the *King* himself. But yet he says, they must not revenge themselves, and prescribes such Limitations as Mr. *Lock* has fully shew'd the Weakness of. *David's* Defence of himself against the unjust Persecution of *Saul* is some Illustration of this Case. But what are the Rights and Interests of a single Person to those of a whole Community? The same Law which empower'd one, will much more empower the other to secure themselves against a visible Destruction.

3. But how these Notions can be reconcil'd to the *Revolution*, I can't imagine. They might have seem'd indifferent while they were confined to meer Speculations; or they might serve well enough for the Amusements of Conversation. But this wild *Hypothesis*, when it came to the Tryal, wasted into nothing: And who more forward than the *Clergy* in trampling upon their own Doctrine. I suppose it can hardly be deny'd, but that the *Revolution* was *Resistance*: Indeed it has been call'd a *Conquest*; but the Notion suffer'd *Martyrdom*. The *Parliament of England* could not digest the Thought of it. I must confess it is directly *Resistance*, when we consider all the Circumstances of it. Or how shall we interpret the Invitation of the *Prince of Orange* to our Assistance by divers of the *Lords Spiritual* and
 Tem-

Temporal? which if it were not true, the Bishops would not declare their Abhorrence of it. The Raising of the Nobility and Gentry, and joining with the Prince of *Orange* in Defence of their common Liberty; their *Associations*, and the *Declaration* of the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty assembled in Arms at *Nottingham*, the Letters of the *QUEEN*, and of Prince *George*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*; the Lords Spiritual and Temporal addressing the Prince of *Orange* to take upon him the Administration of publick Affairs; the fighting against King *James* at the *Boyne*, and diverse other Transactions of this Nature, which we should not know how to call by any Name, if they were not comprehended in the Notion of Self-Defence and Resistance.

We may guess at Mr. *M*'s. Opinion by the admirable Expedients he proposes, to secure us against the Exorbitancies of Tyranny, which are these two, in Sermon Jan. 30. 170₇?. First we should make an Experiment of redressing our Grievances by *Petitioning*; and if that does not succeed, then he leaves no other Refuge, but some *foreign* Country. But as for the Notion of Resistance he charges it as a Sin of the most damnable Composition, being crowded with *Sedition*, *Antichristianism*, *Atheism*, *Treason*, Sermon. Jan. 30. 170₇?. p. 35. 39, 42, 45.

What a Libel this is on the *Revolution* and present *Settlement* which are founded upon these Principles, is notoriously evident. Nor can it be interpreted otherwise than as a seditious *Invective* against the *QUEEN*, who was not only deeply engag'd in the Revolution; but has since in her Answer to an Address of the *House of Lords*, declared that she must place her chief Dependance upon those who have given repeated Proofs of their greatest Warmth and Concern for the Support of the Revolution, Security of her Person, and of the Protestant Succession. Nay, further, I can't see how we can distinguish it, from a blasphemous Reproach upon the miraculous Hand of Heaven, which was so visible in the Production of such an

ex-

extraordinary Event. These are Conclusions any rational Person would deduce from the Tenour of his Discourse. If it is not a perfect Contradiction to the present Establishment, it looks so like one, that he must strain all his Talents to reconcile it. Did *Passive Obedience, Non-resistance, Petitioning* for Redress of Grievances, *Running away* into foreign *Countries*, drive King *James* out of *England*, seat King *WILLIAM* on the Throne, make Way for his glorious Successor Queen *ANNE*, settle the Protestant *Succession*? As it would be the greatest Absurdity to affirm it; so according to Mr. *M's* Doctrine, the *QUEEN*, and the whole *Nation* are involved in the Guilt of a damnable Rebellion, or else he wou'd delude us with unsufferable Nonsense.

But I warrant you, a Man who has the Vanity to think himself fit, to be the publick *Censor* of the Writings of those, who bore the highest Character in the Age they liv'd in, will resent this latter as too gross an Imputation upon his Performances; therefore I'll wave the Charge: But he must forgive me; if I suspect his Friendship, when I find him asserting the *Divine Right* of Monarchy, and an unlimited Subjection to all their arbitrary Impositions, persuading Mankind to submit to their Destruction, inculcating it as an indisputable Article of Religion, destroying all Refuges against the oppressive Measures of Tyranny, but such as are ineffectual, razing the very Principles of Self-Preservation which are indelibly writ upon our Natures, obliging us to submit to the very Subversion of the fundamental Laws of our Government without Opposition. These Principles are frequently interspers'd in Mr. *M's* Sermons; and they are such that without Prejudice will lead one naturally to think, that he is possess'd with an implacable Prejudice to the Revolution, to the *QUEEN's* Right, by Virtue of the *Act of Settlement*, which we may easily suppose he looks upon as no Accession to the Strength of her Title, by his insisting so much on her *Hereditary Right*: Which in Effect is declaring

claring K. *William's* possessing the Throne an Usurpation, and the Settlement of the *Protestant Succession* a perpetuating of it. I shall leave it to the unprejudic'd Reader, whether these are not the just Consequences of Mr. *M's*. Notions, and the declared Principles of *Jacobitism*. How destructive they are to our present Settlement, and all the Advantages we have secured by the Revolution, let any one judge. Therefore let Men cover their Designs never so fairly with plausible Insinuations, while there is such a Harmony betwixt their Principles, Designs and Interests, and those of the professed Enemies of the Government, I can't see why we should not entertain the same Jealousy of them. Nay rather more, since it is evident, the *Oaths* they have took to maintain all the glorious Effects of the Revolution, have had so little Effect upon their Consciences, as they can't restrain them from venting such Principles with an uncommon Zeal, which are diametrically opposite to it, and tend only to undermine the peaceable Possession of our Establishment, and to throw all into Confusion.

3. Another Mistake of Mr. *M's*. is, to charge the *Dissenters* with disloyal and seditious Principles, and to represent them, as if they were Enemies to the *QUEEN* and her Government, and branding their Ancestors as principal Causes of the Civil War and cutting off the King's Head, &c. After he had drawn up an odd Scheme of political Principles of his own forming, he says, these were preach'd by the *Marshals*, *Calamys*, the *Baxters*, the *Peters*, *Goodwins*, *Owens* and others the *Boatefews* in the great Rebellion. *These* (says he) *fill'd three Kingdoms with Sects and Sacrilege, with Blood and Murder, &c.* Penny Sermon Jan. 30th, 170⁸. p. 20. *And these were the Principles which murdered him.* p. 18. - And to compleat their Character, he says, *they are generally Men of no Religion, no Principle, no Honour, no Honesty, who maintain them; They laugh at that Religion they preach, and look upon the whole Doctrine of the Gospel as a pretty Fable: By discoursing on which they may get a*

competent Livelyhood; and as for their future Account, they little think of it. Sermon Jan. 30. 170^e. p. 3. And had they Opportunity would be as ready to cut off the precious Life of our present gracious Queen, as ever their Fathers were to murder her pious and illustrious Grandfather. Sermon Jan. 30. 170^s. p. 24. Being those who hate all Monarchy, and all Religion, and that God who founded them. Sermon Jan. 30th, 170^e. p. 16.

I have read a Story which will help us out in this dismal Representation. The first Embassy K. James I. sent to Spain, perfectly surpris'd the Spaniards, not only when they saw the Grandeur of it in general; but the Beauty of our English Gentlemen, whom the Stories of their Priests had transformed into Devils, which they pretended was a Punishment inflicted on the Nation for casting off the Pope's Supremacy. And they had pictur'd Sir Francis Drake, half a Man and half a Dragon. But

their Angelick Appearance spoil'd all this Forgery of their Priests. * This was was an old Paganish Artifice to impute all the Desolations which fell upon the Roman Empire to the Christians. It may be a tolerable Fault amongst Heathens; but for one, that pretends to bear the Character of Christ's Embassadour to adopt this devilish Practice is intolerable. This hellish Description needs no other Answer, but only to beg the Dissenters would put up their hearty Prayers to God to forgive this Man his notorious Lying and Malignity. Their Characters, Behaviour and Principles are too well known, to require a Defence against such slanderous Imputations. And I believe Mr. M. will find it difficult to single out many of the Dissenting Ministers, who have contributed to forfeit the Character of pious and sober, so much as he himself hath done. I'll only observe this; We may see from hence how a degenerate Clergy would usurp upon our Faith, and brand every thing with the Character of the Devil, that makes any Opposition to their Designs. These can serve no other Purpose than

than to amuse the vulgar. However I shall examine some Part of Mr. *M*'s. Account.

I wonder what History informs Mr. *M*. that the *Presbyterians* were the first Fomenters of the Civil Wars, or Rebellion, as he calls it: Unless we take the Title in Mr. *M*'s Latitude, and call Arch-Bishop *Abbot* and all the moderate Churchmen, *Presbyterians*, who espous'd the Cause of Liberty and Property and the old Protestant Church of *England*, against the Encroachments of *Pope*, *arbitrary Power* and the Design of an *English Patriarchate*. These Principles are novel and foreign to the *English* Constitution, and those of the Reformation. The Apprehension of which, rous'd the *English Genius* to guard against their Fetters and Bondage. This Invasion upon the Civil and Ecclesiastical Rights of the Kingdom might have succeeded, notwithstanding all the Attempts the *Presbyterians* were capable of to the contrary, if they had not been led on by a prevailing Party of the Church of

England. They made so inconsiderable a Figure at that Time in *England*, thro' the Severities of the former

*Wilson's Hist.
of K. James. p. 8.*

Reign, which drove so many out of the Kingdom; that it was impossible there should be such a Number of them, as to give any Check to the violent Proceedings of the High Church; as might be easily demonstrated; nor indeed had they Reputation enough to alarm the Nation with a Sense of its Danger. Which leads me to think there is something in what a

considerable Author suggests; that the high Church is invested with a

*Rights of the Christ.
Church. p. 291.*

Sort of a Transubstantiating Power, which can make the *Peers*, *Commonwealths-men*, and the *Bishops*, *Presbyterians*. This is now a common Representation of those who are the best Friends to the Constitution, and can't come up to all their extravagant Notions in Church and State. But this will further appear,

1. These Quarrels began between two considerable Parties in the Church, which in the former Reign were

distinguish'd by *Regians* and *Republicans* : Tho' in reality, the one, maintain'd the absolute *Power* and *Prerogative* of the *King*, and the other would have restrain'd it according to the Limits the Law had set it; which were the Principles of *Hooker* and divers other Churchmen. These in the next Reign were headed by Arch-Bishop *Abbot* on the one Side, and Bishop *Laud* on the other. Which Dr. *Heylin* in his Life of *Laud* (if his Authority is of any Weight) gives us full Assurance of; besides many other Testimonies. The Stories of *Sybothorp*, *Mountague* and *Manwaring* are common, who, tho' they suffered the Censure of Archbishop *Abbot* and the *Parliament*, yet they found *Laud* a sure Refuge and Protection. Who is stigmatiz'd as the grand Incendiary, that threw the whole Kingdom into a Flame, by putting the Court upon such oppressive Measures as were unsupportable. When he came to be Arch-Bishop he carried all before him, thro' the Violence of

* *Coke de-
zed.* p. 112.

his Temper; his Injunctions were absolute,* and the Refusers of them were prosecuted with the opprobrious Names of *Puritan*, and

Schismatick. There was a free Offering made of *English* Liberties to gain an independent Power in the Church, which appear'd in the highest Acts of Usurpation, by encouraging such Doctrines as were contrary to the Articles of the Church of *England*, by bringing in *Innovations* into the Church, and by labouring to debauch the Nation by a Book of Sports; by imposing new Canons and Oaths upon the Clergy without Consent of Parliament. This was an Assumption of such an arbitrary *Legislation*, and *Jurisdiction* as must have superseded the *English* Constitution and have fetter'd us with all the Miseries of an *Egyptian* Bondage. These Measures brought Arch-Bishop *Abbot* into Contempt, who could not keep Pace with them, and therefore while he was alive he was suspended and laid aside as useless.

2. The *Parliament* which sat down in 1640. was compos'd of so great a Majority of Churchmen, that
my

my * Lord *Clarendon* confesses there were but Five professed Dissenters among both the *Lords* and *Commons*. And Mr. *Baxter* in his Life says many of the Members assured him, that they knew but of one * *Presbyterian* in the House of *Commons*, which

* *Hist. of the Rebellion*, Vol. I. Book 3. p. 184.

Baxt. Life. Part 3. p. 140.

is a plain Demonstration either of the Paucity of their Numbers, or their inconsiderable Interest in the Kingdom, and how unlikely they were to give any Check to the Exorbitancy of the Times, or contribute much to the Disorder of them, it is easie enough without much Penetration to imagine. And there is no Reason to think otherwise of their Armies. Their General the Earl of *Essex* was a Conformist, and the far greater Part of the Officers such. Arch-Bishop *Williams* engag'd in the Parliament's Service, and divers others of the conformable Clergy. Nay, Dr. *Hammond* himself says, that the *Synod* at *Westminster* were all at first Conformists except nine or ten, in his Answer to the *London* Ministers. And Mr. *Baxter* * asserts, *Presbytery* was * *Third Plea* hardly known in *England*, 'till the for Peace. p. 36. *Scots* brought them to the Knowledge of it; and that which enclined the Parliament to give the first Countenance to it, was, when they were brought so low as to call in the *Scots* and others who were against *Episcopacy*, to their Assistance; and because they had seen the Prelacy fly so high, as that they apprehended it inconsistent with the Liberties of *England*. I can't help giving Credit to these Testimonies 'till Mr. *M.* confutes them; and I think him oblig'd to do it, to maintain his own Integrity: Tho' I think it is scarce possible for him to attempt it without Railery and Banter. However it is certain the Dissenters came in as free Volunteers to the Service of the Parliament, and thought it their Duty to

* Let the curious Reader who would see this Matter seriously debated, consult Mr. *Withers* of *Exeter* his last Answer to Mr. *Agate*,

maintain the Constitution against all the illegal Prerogatives of the Crown, and the intolerable Usurpations of High Church; which probably afterwards gave them a considerable Reputation, and might much concur towards the Design of establishing such an Ecclesiastical Constitution in the Kingdom.

3. However they were necessary to the Beginning of the War, yet certainly they were as far as any Churchman from justifying the *Consequences* of it; or coming into those Measures which were form'd by some, to lay aside the old *English* Constitution, and to convert it into a meer *Commonwealth*. They as freely Remonstrated against the Design of the Parliament's usurping the supreme Power, as they had done against all the Encroachments of a Monarchical Power. The old *English* Constitution was the Measure of their Conduct. And therefore upon the absolute Defeat of the *King's* Forces, they were so far from any Attempt upon the *King's* Life, that they voted his

* *Hist. of Eng.* p. 165. Concessions from the *Isle of Wight*, a sufficient Ground of Peace *: And had certainly succeeded in their Design of accomodating the Differences; had not

the Army turn'd them out of their Places in Parliament, which was under the Conduct of *Cromwel*, whose aspiring Designs then gave Suspicion.

After this, they made so bold a Remonstrance against taking away the *King's* Life, as must justify to any reasonable Person, their Abhorrence of it; Part of which I shall here insert which is as follows;

“ We hold our selves bound in Duty to God,
 “ Religion, the King, Parliament and Kingdom, to
 “ profess before God, Angels and Men, that we ve-
 “ rily believe that which is so much fear'd to be
 “ now in Agitation, the taking away the *King's* Life
 “ in the present Way of Tryal, is contrary to the
 “ Word of God, the Principles of the *Protestant*
 “ Religion, the fundamental Constitution of this
 “ Kingdom, as also to the Oath of Allegiance,
 “ the Protestation of *May* 5, 1641. and the so-
 lemn

“ lemn League and Covenant; from all or any of
 “ which Engagements, we know not any Power on
 “ Earth able to absolve us or o-
 “ thers. * — This was sign’d by Fifty Eight Ministers Hands in and about London. † Mr. Baxter in his Life expresses the utmost Detestation of it. And further, I have been assured by a Man of Integrity, and Mr. M’s kindest Friend, that his Father Mr. Luke Milbourne, a worthy godly Minister, who was ejected in 1662. from *Roxall* in *Warwickshire*, always kept the 30th of *January* as a Fast to his dying Day, for the Sin of the Kingdom, in cutting off the King’s Head. So that Mr. M. need not have express’d so doleful a Concern for his Father’s Sin as he seems to do with a peculiar Accent. Sermon. 1707. p. 13.

* *Hist. of Eng.*
 p. 175.

† Part I. p. 63.

After the fatal Stroke was given, they never could be brought to own the Authority of the *|| Rump*, protesting against their Proceedings: and in divers Overt Acts refused a Submission to them. They made divers Attempts to bring in King *Charles*, for which Mr. * *Love* lost his Head, and divers others suffer’d Imprisonment. They expressly declar’d against *Oliver*’s Usurpation; and he never could with all his politick Fetches bring them into his Interest. And at last by their Influence and Management they brought in the King, (when the Episcopal Party hardly durst make an Appearance to forward the Attempt;) tho’ the Event was their own Ruin, being rewarded with nothing but the severest Prosecutions, Fines, Confiscations, Imprisonments, and all such insolent Treatments as might force them upon some Design against the Government. Which, however they abhorr’d; and they stand chargeable with no Plots but such as were of *High-Church*’s own forming, or such as the *Papists* would have fathered upon them, when all their Devilish Designs against the Government were laid open.

|| *Rushworth’s*
Collect. Vol. II.
 Part 4. p. 1363.

* *Hist. of Eng.*
 p. 185. Vol. III.
Ibid. p. 186.

4. Mr. *M.* to render them suspected to the present Oovernment. insinuates, that they would cut off the Life of the QUEEN, whose Government they have all along submitted to with the greatest Applause and Admiration; and without the least Exception.

Quis tulcrit Gracchos, de Seditiōe quærentes?

Juv. Sat. 2.

Were they *Dissenters* who have all along rail'd at and banter'd the Revolution, and the present Settlement? Were they *Dissenters* who were in the Assassination Plot, and that were hang'd at Tyburn? Were they *Dissenters* who embarras'd the Affairs of King *WILLIAM*, betray'd Councils, hindred Supplies, and oppos'd every thing that was for the Security of what, we had gain'd by the Revolution? Were they *Dissenters* who ventured upon the dangerous Experiment the Tack? Which if it had succeeded in a Manner suitable to their Wishes, it must have endangered the Liberty of Europe, as well as the Protestant Religion both at home and abroad. Were they *Dissenters* who insulted the QUEEN in the Libel call'd *The Memorial of the Church of England*? Were they *Dissenters* who were engag'd in the Invasion of the Pretender? Does not Mr. *M.* know that these Sort of Men have always profess'd themselves to be Members of the Church of England. What intolerable Insolence is this to charge any thing of this Nature upon the *Dissenters*, who are the most absolute Friends of the QUEEN and Government; when it is notorious that it is Men of his Principles, who are always insulting the QUEEN, rejoycing in the Successes of the French, traducing the Ministry, exerting their utmost Endeavours to subvert our present Settlement, and to throw all into Confusion; yet it would be as notorious a Fault to charge these Apostate Principles and Practices upon the Church of England, as it would be the Trans-

actions

actions of a few Enthusiasts upon the whole Body of the *Dissenters*.

But to draw to a Conclusion, I shall only take notice of two or three things about the Observation of this Day; and so shall dismiss the Reader. These Principles have insulted both Church and State for above a Century; and in that small Revolution of Years had twice betray'd it, had not the Indulgence of Heaven exerted a miraculous Hand to have rescu'd us, without which we must have sunk under the Oppressions of Popery and Tyranny. Many of the Church are fond of the Day: and tho' I really abhor the Fact it commemorates; yet the leading Reason (as one may fear) of their Zeal for it, is the very Ground of my Jealousie and Distrust about it. I am satisfy'd the Wisdom of our Legislature never calculated it for their own Destruction; and to give an Opportunity of propagating such Principles, as bid a Desiance to the happy Constitution of Church and State; tho' Mr. *Lesley*, the celebrated *Advocate* of *High-Church* boldly insinuates in one of his Answers to Mr. *Hoadly*, that the *Legislature* have reserv'd this Day purposely to be solemniz'd with the Harangues of the Clergy against Re-

Students Thanks. sistance. From the first Rise of them
p. 15. we may justly date our Miseries;
the Sense of what we have felt, shou'd
make us set a Guard upon every Avenue, thro'
which the Zealots of these Notions wou'd crow'd
them in upon us. Whether there is not a Possibility
of being immers'd in the same Difficulties, I shall beg
leave to consider two or three things.

Tho' we are exceedingly happy in the Glory and Lustre that generally adorn our Episcopal *Sees*. Yet it is too evident these Principles have spread themselves upon the Minds of the greater Part of our inferiour Ecclesiasticks, and their Zeal is, no less to promote and establish them. When it is consider'd how they prevail in the two Universities, and the Dispo-

Disposition of the Lower House of Convocation upon the last Election of a *Prolocutor*, it will hardly be thought I mistake in my Calculation. On every Thirtieth of *January* there are Crowds of Instances of Ecclesiastical Zeal, in spreading the Infection. The Design of recovering the Reputation of these Absurdities at Court has prov'd abortive: and at last they are fell under the happy Censure of our Legislature. Yet we may fear the Distemper is too malignant for common Remedies. The Authority, Learning, and the Advantages the Clergy have to recommend them, are almost irresistible. And besides, they have an inexhaustible Fund of Artifice which upon Occasion is easily drawn forth to serve a Turn, and to amuse vulgar Apprehensions with terrible Prospects, as if the Church was going to be swallowed up alive; when alas it is known the Word *Church* has been only made use of to make the Imposture more imperceptible. Every one has been sensible that the Dignity, Revenues and Discipline of the Church were never aim'd at, nor thought of, nor the Articles, Homilies, &c. ever liable to Exception. But it was only that narrow Term, the *High-Church*, which vented that dismal Groan as if their *All* was just expiring.—— It need not be a Matter of Admiration, why the High Clergy bend all the Force of their Zeal this Way; if the Earnings they intend to make of it be but duly consider'd; which is nothing less than a Jurisdiction that may rival the Crown, and fetter the Consciences of the Laity with their Synodical Determinations: Or else they can as easily reverse this Political Maxim of the Divine Right of Monarchy, when it runs counter to their Interest. For it would make one smile to observe how the Bishops who had been the greatest Friends to Prerogative, and had express'd a distinguishing Zeal in supporting all the illegal Stretches of Kingly Power, in the beginning of *King James's* Reign; yet a little before his Abdication, they thought fit to give some Testimony of the Alteration of their
Senti-

Sentiments in their Address on *Octob. 3. 1688*. These would have been damnable Positions once without a severe Repentance. But while Tyranny run on the Church Side, the Clergy could easily conjure up a Divinity to be a Pimp to it. And this was the Consideration that lead them to be so liberal of *English Liberties*. * But *when Judgment began at the House of* * Mr. Johnson's Notes upon the Pastoral Letter. p. 49.

" God, as Dr. Sherlock preach'd upon

" the Bishops being sent to the Tower,

" then their Note was quite alter'd; *King James*

" *had forfeited, and ought to be depos'd,* with a great

" deal more to that purpose. But when they grew

" jealous of the Revolution, and could not tell what to

" make of it, having missed of two Hits, both of having

" *King James*, and afterwards of having his intended

" Deputy the Prince of *Orange* in their Hands, and want-

" ed a third Hit: Then the Words were these; *Well,*

" *will not the Convention send for the King back again? If*

" *they will not, we have forty thousand Men to fetch him*

back. This has been the Foundation of those Attempts of reconciling the Revolution to their Principles; or rather of making a Present of them to our present Settlement, but certainly we must swallow the highest Contradictions to Sense, before this can be succesfully accomplished.

The best Interpretation we can put upon it, is, that they can't find any other Principles so well suited to serve a Turn; therefore while the Interest of the Clergy is embark'd in these Notions, there are such Charms in Authority and Dominion as they will be for ever restless, 'till the Imposture has took Effect. The true Intent of which is a real Conspiracy against all our civil and religious Liberties. This will be reflected on as malicious Insinuation; tho' the Histories of the last Century will furnish us with Evidence to make it credible.

I shall only touch upon some Proceedings of Archbishop *Land*, as I find them related by Historians. The Court for sometime had been infected with a

G

Design

Design of making an Invasion upon the Liberties of the People, (which, however it came to be conjured up, it is no Matter) the Bishops thought by coming into the Project, they might have an Opportunity of possessing themselves of an absolute independent Power in the Church; which, tho' it was quite contrary to the Laws of the Land, their Oath of Supremacy; the Principles of the Reformation; yet no doubt, as they had been train'd up in forming Distinctions, they were at no Loss to find out a *Salvo* for their Consciences. K. James I. was hardly well seated in the Throne, but the Bishops

* *Wilson's Hist.* * *No Bishop, no King.* And to make this of K. James. p. the more credible, they came in Volunteers to the Support of his Prerogative; Which in the next Reign that

it might take its full Scope, it was establish'd in Convocation, that *Monarchy was of Divine Right*, as may be seen in the first of those Canons publish'd in 1640. What a Complement this was to the *English Liberty* and Constitution, is manifest by the Votes of Parliament which sat down that same Year, before the unhappy Commotions were broke out, who

† *Rushworth's Collect.* p. 112. † *namine contradicentia* judg'd it amongst Vol. I. Part III. the rest of the Canons to be contrary to the *King's Prerogative, to the Fundamental Laws and Statutes of the Realm, to the Rights of Parliament, to the Property and Liberty of the Subject, and a Matter tending to Sedition, and of dangerous Consequence.* And much to the same

purpose that great Politician of the Age, My Lord Shaftsbury says, || “ If || “ this Doctrine of Divine Right be “ true, our *Magna Charta* is of no “ Use, our Laws are but Rules a- “ mongst our selves during the King's Pleasure. “ Monarchy, if of Divine Right, can't be bounded, “ or limited by humane Laws; nay, what's more, “ can't bind it self; and all our Claims of Right by “ the

|| *Speech in the House of Lords.* 1675.

“ the Law or Constitution of the Government, all the
 “ Jurisdiction and Privilege of this House, all the
 “ Rights and Privileges of the *House of Commons*, all
 “ the Properties and Liberties of the People are to give
 “ Way, not only to the Interest, but to the Will and
 “ Pleasure of the Crown.—It may be a surprizing

Astonishment to any indifferent Person, to observe Men invested with an Authority design'd by God for the highest Services to Mankind, should be so far de-vested of all Humanity, as to concur in the most notorious Violations of the common Safety. But where their Aims rise no higher than a poor narrow selfish Interest; it is no Wonder that Religion is so far perverted, as to be forc'd to give License to all their extravagant Measures. It is very probable, this Notion had never been thought of, which is so highly prejudicial to our civil Interest, had it not been to gratifie the insupportable Itch of exercising a Tyrannical Power in the Church; which by amu-sing the Prince with Pretences to arbitrary Power, they had Hopes of introducing. And how far they had proceeded in this Usurpation, is plain enough by the Bishops denying they had their Jurisdiction from the King as *Bishops*; but from God only, as they affirm'd in the *High-Commission*

Court, upon the Censure of * *Bastwick*.

The Event discovered that this was not a naked Declaration; for under the Covert of this imaginary Pre-

* *Whitlock's Memoirs*. p. 21, 22.
Coke's Dect.

p. III, 112.

tence, they assum'd to act in their own Names, and by the Virtue of a Divine Right to crowd the Im-position of a thousand Fancies upon the Clergy; and also to deprive several of their Benefices for refusing to read the *Book of Sports*, and a Submission to the Variety of the superstitious Follies the Bishops had invented. This is the grand Design in Miniature, which has appropriated all their Zeal, and employs all the Talents, Nature and Industry have endued them with for the uncontrollable Settlement of it. How opposite it has been to the very Constitution and

Rights of Parliaments, the grand Security of common Liberties, is notorious. From this Spring have rose all their Resentments, and have lead them on to load all the Opposers of their Encroachments, with Heaps of Lies and Calumnies. Neither has our incomparable QUEEN escap'd the Lashes of their Censures, only for refusing to become their Property, and for accomodating her Government to the general Ease and Satisfaction of all her Subjects.

Now when we consider the universal Spread of this Infection amongst the Clergy, and the dangerous Tendency of it; no Wonder if it appear to corrode our Vitals: And also what an Influence such a Confederacy has to profelyte People to espouse their Dictates; especially when we observe their Methods of Insinuation; and how the Cheat is wrap'd up in the venerable Name of *Church* to make it current; it may justly awaken the Nation to exercise a little Circumspection. The Word *Church* in their Sense has a very narrow Signification, and stands by it self; for it is distinguished from the Church establish'd by Law, as the Derivation of its Power and Authority is pretended to be from the Apostles, by an uninterrupted Succession; which tho' it is one of the *Papish* Characters of a Church, yet it is not wholly *Papish*; so that its Constitution is a perfect Medley, a meer Composition form'd by their own Fancies, and calculated in Imitation of the *Papish* Hierarchy, to fetter Mankind with its Injunctions. It is fraught with an Ambition superior to the fundamental Laws of the Government, strikes at the Civil Constitution, and has made desperate Attempts to superinduce a Tyranny upon our Natural Rights. They are now continually pushing on their Designs: insomuch that tho' the Wisdom of a *Parliament* should think fit to set aside the 30th of *January*, upon which they falsely suppose themselves to be authorized to maintain their Notions; and raise up Legal Defences for the common Safety, enact a Civil Test instead of a religious one, spread the Foundations of the Government, and let
in

in all the hearty Friends of it, this would be a considerable Step, yet hardly sufficient to secure us against the Subtilties of this innovating Humour.

What is dangerous to the civil Constitution in this Respect, is equally hazardous to the Church of *England* as establish'd by Law. The Claims of High Church to a divine Jurisdiction, is a Principle directly destructive of a legal Establishment, and of the Queen's Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs, which is the Foot our Reformation from *Popery* is built upon. And this is evidently demonstrated by a late

* Author, who, however exceptionable he may be in other Respects, yet in this is clear beyond all doubt.

* *Pref. to the Rights of Christ. Church.*

And this is the Foundation of all the Clamour against our first Reformers. Mr. *Dodwel* styling the Oath of

Ibid. p. 67.

Supremacy, as explain'd by the 37. *Hen. VIII.* an extravagant and impious Notion, and admires such a Betrayer of Ecclesiastical Rights, as *Cranmer*, should by our Ecclesiastical Historian of the Reformation be propos'd as an exemplary Hero.

Ibid. p. 272.

The Apprehension of these Principles being infused into King *Edward VI.* made *Heylin* represent his Death as a seasonable Mercy to the Church. This has inroll'd Bishop

Laud amongst the Red-Letters of the High Church Calender, and exalted his Death to the highest Degree of *Martyrdom*; who made the boldest Attempt to undermine the legal Establishment of the Church, and wholly to invest an independent Authority in the *Bishops*, by the Vertue of a divine Right, in Opposition to the Jurisdiction and Power they derived from the Laws of the Land. And what a fatal Blow this was to *Episcopacy*, every one knows: The Fines, Prosecutions, Imprisonments, barbarous Treatments of the Bishops Courts, made them intolerable. And when we consider the Prevalency of these Notions after the Restoration, it may not be an improbable Conjecture, that this might be a secret Reason which
might

might influence the *Bishops* to concur in appointing the 30th of Jan. (under the Pretence of being a melancholy Commemoration of the tragical End of that unfortunate Prince) to be a fit Opportunity of spreading those Notions, that might render the Establishing of their despotick Power as indispensibly necessary, which had like to have overset the Church the second Time. By which we may judge that if these Notions should take Effect, it will render *Episcopacy* unsupportable, and will be a means of introducing another Form of Church Government, more agreeable to the Support of our common Liberty.

But here again their Zeal has betray'd them, by advancing such Absurdities, as one can hardly distinguish from Blasphemy; comparing the Sufferings of the martyr'd King, to the Sufferings of *Christ*, as if they run parallel. Tho' the King was a great Prince, yet sure we must allow he came infinitely short of Divinity. This is *Enthusiasm* beyond Expression, to raze the very Foundation of the *Christian* Religion, to create a Veneration to a poor perishing Mortal, who had nothing to distinguish him from the common Frailties of humane Nature, but the Title and Authority of a *Monarch*. Such fulsome Divinity as this, would have been abhorr'd by a Prince of so much personal Virtue as King *Charles* had, could he rise from the Grave to hear it. Indeed it may serve for an Amusement to vulgar Apprehensions; but with Men of Sense and Learning, who have any due Regard to Religion, it must be censur'd as ridiculous. Such Raptures can serve no other End, but to make People either Superstitious or Atheistical, and 'most likely the latter. We live in an Age, where the *Laity* almost vie with the *Clergy* for Learning: And will not this lead them to think, that the *Clergy* are ready to sacrifice the Principles of common Sense as well as Religion to their Interest. In a Word, it is venting the most profane Libel on their own Function. This Sort of Cant may very probably be assign'd as one Reason why *Deism* has spread so much, and fed the Preju-

Prejudices that are so common against
 * *An Account of* the Force of Divine Revelation;
the Growth of Deism. as an ingenious * Author hath al-
 ready suggested to the World.

Again how impossible does this render all our Hopes
 of *Reconciliation*, and bringing Differences amongst
 our selves to an End. It is our Division that gives
 us the most melancholly Prospect. The great Hap-
 piness this Island enjoys by its Scituation, whereby
 we are secured against all Foreign Attempts, is much
 obscured, not so much by the Diversity of Opinions,
 as by the Heat and Rancour with which they are
 maintain'd. Our Animosities are voracious; and
 they so far prevail against Religion and Humanity, as
 if the *Clergy* had blotted out the new Commandment
Christ gave his Disciples, *Love one another*. Some-
 times we read of Miracles wrought by the most im-
 probable Means: It would be a Presumption to limit
 infinite Power; but no wise Set of Men would ever
 prescribe railing, continu'd Misrepresentations, the most
 reproachful Calumnies, as Remedies for Peace. A Di-
 vine Hand can bring Honey out of the Eater; and
 reconcile the jarring Discords of Mens Passions by
 Contrarieties: But alas, we have by our Sins so much
 abused the miraculous Indulgence of Providence, as
 we may fear we have made our selves unfit for Mira-
 cles. The Grave has silenc'd all the great Transact-
 ors of Divisions of the last Age, and how well would
 it be, if all their Debates were buried with them. But
 alas, the Mischief is entail'd, it is propagated with their
 Beings, as if Contention was the common Inheritance
 of a degenerate Clergy. If any thing would do, the
 Follies of their Ancestors might cure them, but they
 adopt their Resentments and thereby render the Disease
 incurable. The High Church grasp at Power, Pomp
 and Greatness, more than the real Excellency of Re-
 ligion: Else I can't apprehend why they set them-
 selves to banter and burlesque *Moderation*, *Love*,
Peace, *Condescension* and such other Vertues, which the
Christian Religion principally recommends. And ac-
 cordingly

cordingly they have acted, and defeated all Attempts that have been made towards an Union. How gladly would the greatest Part of the Dissenters have come in, upon K. *Charles II*'s. Declaration * from *Breda*, as is lately represented by an Historian of their own Body. But High Church Zeal was always remarkable against such Attempts. † When the Convocation in 1589 had by the Favour of Heaven an Opportunity of performing their solemn Declarations of easing their Protestant Brethren; yet was not there a Party amongst them, who with Scorn rejected all Terms of Accommodation, and thought the very recommending to them such Alterations in things indifferent, an Affront never to be forgiven, which was the Foundation of the inveterate Malice with which, that glorious Prince to whom we owe our common Safety, was to the last prosecuted.

* *Hist. of Eng.*
Vol. III. p. 229.

† *Rights of that*
Church. p. 279.

This Kind of Proceeding, so contrary in it self to the very Purpose and Design of Religion, may tempt any one to entertain the meanest, and most contemptible Opinion of the Office of the *Priesthood*, as if it was calculated rather to oppress and enslave Mankind, than to recover them from the Ruins of their *Apostacy*, and to restore them to a State of Perfection and Liberty. Must it not needs be a great Reflection upon the *Honesty* and *Discretion*, the *Christian Charity*, and generous *Nature* of the *English* Clergy, to hear them Annually abuse their innocent Neighbours, and charge them with Crimes in which they had no Concern, and which the generality of them abhor; to disturb the Quiet of Peoples Minds, enflame their Differences and Animosities, and fix Jealousies and Hatred against one another, all the rest of the Year? Of which I have known many remarkable Instances.

Nor is this often without a strange Mixture of fulsome *Flattery* and unsufferable *Pride*, many Expressions

pressions of servile Compliance, as well as aspiring Ambition: They would raise the Regal Power upon the Ruins of Civil Liberty, and add Church *Tyranny* to that of the State; enslave the Consciences of Men as well as their Fortunes, and make themselves Lords of *God's Heritage*, and have *Dominion* over our *Faith*. Thus I have known the extravagant Praises of the *Royal Martyr*, run Men not only upon irreligious *Rants*, but Civil *Seditions*, and lead them at once to talk *Blasphemy* against Heaven, and *Treason* against the State.

And especially when Men shall observe, how many of the Clergy upon that Day, exhaust all the Treasures of their Eloquence and Zeal, declaim in florid Harangues upon many imaginary Scenes, give false Colours to leading Points, and frequently trespass against notorious Facts, shew a greater Zeal in the Cause of *Charles* the 1st, than for any Principle of Religion, or Doctrine of *Christianity*, are louder and longer upon the 30th of *January*, than any *Sunday* in the Year; This may naturally tempt Men to question their Integrity, and suspect their Designs, and perhaps is one considerable Reason of the general *Contempt* of the Clergy of this Age, and which is much more considerable, of denying the *Institution*, and rejecting the Office it self.

With what a deformed Complexion would these Men represent the Church of *England*, as if she espous'd Principles that had a Tendency to deface the very Ideas of Goodness, and trample on the Appearances of Virtue and Morality, by corrupting Religion with such Glosses as truly render it inconsistent with common Humanity. Are Railing, Persecution, the highest Usurpations upon the Rights of Mankind, any Marks of a Church, whose Head is the *Prince of Peace*? These are Imputations which are the highest Slander to the Church of *England* as establish'd by Law; and which the truest Members of it reject with the utmost Abhorrence. As it has made the brightest Figure in the Reformation, it is impossible it should

pollute it self with the Dregs of *Popish* Tyranny and Bondage. If the greatest Severities that Words can devise, or Laws enact, be Methods to reconcile Dissenters to the Church, how shall we distinguish such Arguments from *French* Dragooning, or the *Spanish* Inquisition? Had Christianity been at first propagated with these Pretences, a continued Series of Miracles would scarce have been sufficient to have maintain'd its standing. Christ says, *his Kingdom is not of this World*, but Mankind must be strangely infatuated, to believe the Jurisdiction and Grandeur of the *Popish* Constitution to be a just Comment upon his Doctrine. If the Life and Doctrine of Christ are our Patterns, then all such Aims and Thirst after Power are the Reverse of it: The great Characteristics of *Christ's* Kingdom are, *Righteousness, Peace, and Joy in the Holy Ghost*. He never intended that it should be distinguish'd by external Pomp and Dominion, which he assigns as a Property of the Kingdoms of this World. *The Kings of the Gentiles exercise Lordship over them, but ye shall not be so*. Religion is of another Nature, which is to regulate our Lives according to the Rules of Vertue. And therefore all Pretences and Claims to Power and Jurisdiction are really insignificant and vain, without *Mekness, Charity and Goodwill* to Mankind. Otherwise it is an absolute Usurpation of the Christian Name, or the Apostle *Paul's* Temper of *becoming all Things to all Men* would be Nonsense. The Church of *England* has found the glorious Effects of *Toleration and Condescension* to Dissenters, and they have so far triumph'd over our Heats and Animosities, as has been a fatal Disappointment to our Enemies, throughout the whole Scene of this expensive War, which one would think should dispose the Nation to a farther Union, and to lay aside all the Pretences which have been made use of, to widen our Breaches and enflame our Differences. So that when we consider the fatal influence, these *Prerogative Doctrines* have had upon our common Welfare, which by a little Reflection on former Events, we may find have infligated

stigated the Promoters of them to betray our *Charters, Rights and Privileges*, to spread abroad their dividing Principles, and to stir up the most dangerous Animosities, and are continually Alarming the Kingdom, secretly conspiring against our present Settlement, filling Peoples Minds with Imaginations of Danger, declaiming against all Methods of a peaceable Accommodation, and feeding the Rancour and Heat of Mens Minds by false Representations and malicious Invectives: These Considerations which are notoriously obvious to common Notice, may justly lead the Nation to look on these factious Zealots, as the most dangerous Enemies, and worthy of their highest Resentments; who would in Consequence destroy our most valuable Blessings, defeat all the glorious Effects of the Revolution, and render our present Settlement unsafe and precarious, by giving such Advantages to those, who are waiting for an Opportunity to subvert our Peace, and to involve us in one common Ruin. Therefore I shall conclude with a hearty Concurrence to that admirable Passage in our Letany, *From Hatred, Malice, and all Uncharitableness, good Lord deliver us.*

F I N I S.

THere are some few Errata's escap'd Notice, as Page 46. and line 2. read *Government*. and line 6. for *quarentes* read *querentes*; and other such which the kind Reader is desired to correct.



